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Abduction, Dialogicality and Prior Text:
The Taking on of Voices in Conversational Discourse¹

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In her 2005 LSA plenary address Penelope Eckert demonstrated that phonological variables do not directly index membership in social categories but rather are "resources for the production of social meaning through the construction of personae." Thus the "indexical potential of some variables is located in a conventional and relatively abstract meaning." This view of meaning in interaction is akin to several other theoretical frameworks emanating from disparate but related disciplines: Russian semiotician Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogicality; British anthropologist Gregory Bateson's abduction; and American linguist A. L. Becker's prior text. Bakhtin, Bateson and Becker (the three B's!) all argue that language creates meaning in interaction not by direct indexicality but by association with, or relations to, previously experienced language. As with Eckert's observation about phonological variables, it is by association with previous instances of discourse that personas can be recognized, and social meaning can be conveyed. Today I'll be focusing on ways that current discourse derives meaning by relation to prior discourse; it therefore falls under the rubric of intertextuality.

Drawing on the commonalities in Bakhtin's dialogicality, Bateson's abduction and Becker's prior text, I'll further analyze a discursive strategy that I examine in my book Talking Voices ([1989]2007), where I propose the term "constructed dialogue" for what has been called "reported speech." (The examples I'll discuss will make clear why I believe the term "constructed dialogue" is more apt). I have also, in recent work, identified a type of constructed dialogue I call "ventriloquizing," in which a speaker animates another's voice in the presence of that other. Today I will present examples of constructed dialogue, including ventriloquizing, in which a speaker uses the phonological resources of pitch, amplitude, rhythm, intonation, and voice quality, as well as lexical and syntactic choices, to take on the voice of another or of an alternative personal persona. I'll suggest that the phrase "the

taking on of voices" better describes the way this discursive strategy works in conversational interaction: by constructing not only dialogue but personas, speakers who take on voices can then borrow characteristics associated with those personas. I'll suggest further that the taking on of voices provides speakers with a resource to negotiate two dynamics that drive all conversational discourse: relative closeness or distance on one hand, and relative hierarchy or equality on the other. I'll illustrate and support these claims with examples of conversational discourse that occurred naturally among family members.

I'll start by sketching briefly--very briefly--dialogicality, abduction and prior text, and then the theoretical framework I refer to as the ambiguity and polysemy of connection and power.

Bakhtin's ([1952-53]1986) notion of dialogicality refers not to the literal creation of dialogue but to the interplay between current and previously experienced instances of language. Bakhtin explains, "When we select words in the process of constructing an utterance, we by no means always take them from the system of language in their neutral, dictionary form." Instead, "We usually take them from other utterances...." (87, emphasis in original). Further on he writes, "Each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication. ... Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account" (91). That is the sense in which a current utterance is in "dialogue" with previous utterances. Bakhtin's dialogicality does not address the creation of personas and the culturally conventionalized associations with them, but it is relevant to my topic today because it views meaning as resulting from the relationship between current and previously experienced discourse.

Now, Bateson. In Mind and Nature Gregory Bateson (1979) presents a theory of mind as inextricable from the natural world. Adapting the term from Charles Sanders Peirce, Bateson defines abduction as the "lateral extension of abstract components" (157). To illustrate with an example of my own, if I say "my boss is a snake" I am assigning to my boss certain abstract components, such as sneakiness and malevolence, which are conventionally associated with snakes. Bateson points out that things in the natural world exist only in their relation to other things. It is therefore misleading, for example, to say that a stone is hard:

"The stone is hard" means a) that when poked it resisted penetration and b) that certain continual interactions among the molecular parts of the stone in some way bond the parts together.

Thus, according to Bateson, "'things'... are made 'real' by their internal relations and by their behavior in relationship with other things and with the speaker" (67). He argues that the same is true of language, so rather than saying a noun is the "name of a person, place, or thing" or that a verb is "an action word," it is more accurate to say that "a noun is a word having a certain relationship to a predicate. A verb has a certain relation to a noun, its subject" (18). Like Bakhtin, Bateson does not refer specifically to personas, but he too holds that meaning results from relationships: of things to other things, words to other words, and people to other creatures in the natural world including other people. Most important for my focus today, Bateson's "abstract components" correspond to the characteristics of personas that, I will argue, speakers "borrow" when they take on another's voice.

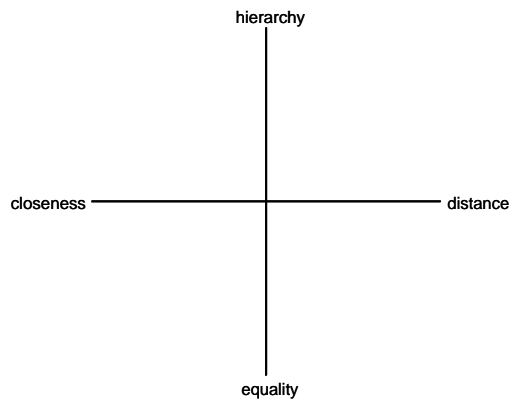
And finally, Becker. In his collection of essays entitled Beyond Translation, A. L. Becker (1995) explains that "All languaging is what in Java is called jarwa dhosok, taking old language (jarwa) and pushing (dhosok) it into new contexts." He uses the term "languaging" to reflect his view of language as an active process: in his words, "context shaping" (9) where context is not pre-existing but rather created by language. Becker identifies six types of contextual relations that operate as constraints on text. (He uses the term "text" perhaps because his analyses have focused on written discourse, as have most of Bakhtin's as well, but Becker's "text" is synonymous with "discourse.")

1. Structural relations, relations of parts to whole
2. Generic relations, relations of text to prior text
3. Medial relations, relations of text to medium
4. Interpersonal relations, relations of text to participants in a text-act
5. Referential relations, relations of a text to nature, the world one believes to lie beyond language)
6. Silential relations, relations of a text to the unsaid and unsayable)

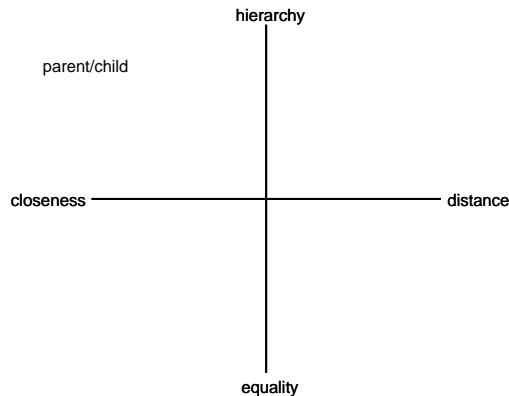
(p. 186)

For Becker, then, as for Bakhtin and Bateson, meaning resides in the relations between current discourse, or text, and previously experienced discourse, in his terms, "prior text."²

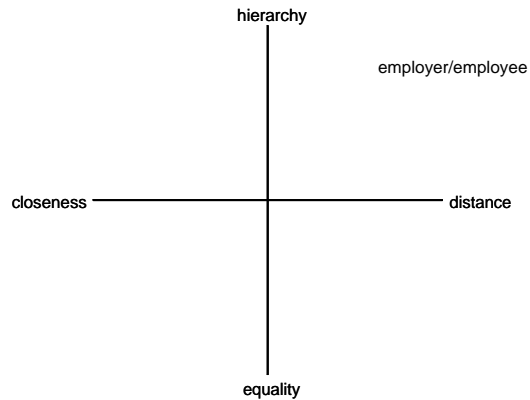
I will now take a few minutes to explain--again, briefly--a theoretical framework I have developed in previous essays: the ambiguity and polysemy of connection and power. By this I mean that every utterance, and every relationship, is a unique combination of two interrelated dynamics that drive all conversational discourse: on one hand, relative closeness vs. distance, and on the other, relative hierarchy vs. equality. I conceptualize this visually as a grid with two axes: a vertical axis that runs between the poles of hierarchy and equality, and a horizontal axis that runs between the poles of closeness and distance.



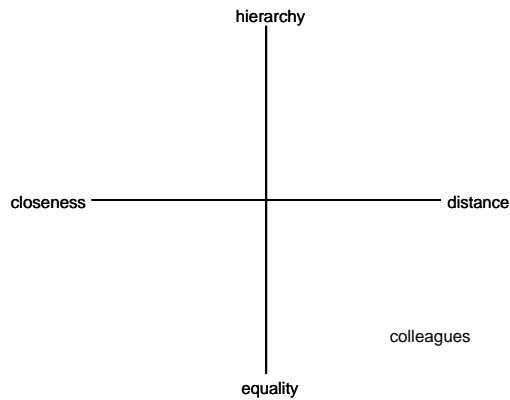
Thus, for example, a parent/child relationship is hierarchical and close:



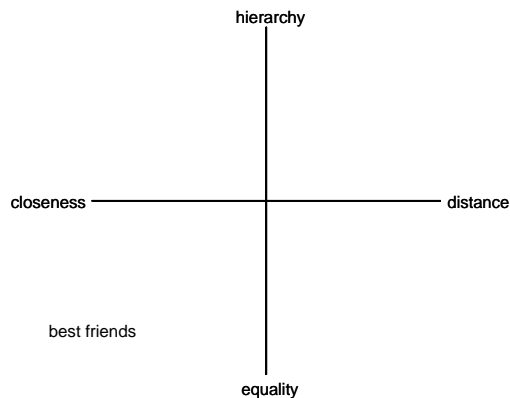
while an employer/employee relationship is hierarchical and distant:



A collegial relationship may be relatively equal and distant:



whereas best friends may be (in theory at least) equal and close.



Discourse analysts have tended to focus disproportionately on the vertical axis, analyzing interaction in order to discover and demonstrate how ways of speaking reflect, enact and create

power. (This concern is the starting point for the field of critical discourse analysis.) My purpose in proposing this framework has been to emphasize that the same ways of speaking that express and create power can also express and create connection, and that they are often ambiguous and polysemous in this regard. A paradigmatic example is overlapping speech. When one person begins to speak while another is already speaking, it can be (and usually is) described as interruption-- a power maneuver, a grab for the floor. But it can also be a connection maneuver, a display of agreement or support. I have labeled this use "cooperative overlap." Beginning to speak while another is speaking is ambiguous because it can be either an interruption or a show of support and enthusiasm. (This harks back to an early study [Tannen (1984)2005] in which I found that New Yorkers who talked along as a show of enthusiastic listenership were frequently misperceived by Californians to be interrupting.) Speaking-along can also be polysemous: if two people agree that mutual competition for the floor makes for a lively conversation, then exuberant mutual interruption can create connection even as it is nonetheless a power play.

Interestingly, the idea of distancing is the source of the term "ventriloquize." It derives from Bakhtin's use of the term "ventriloquate." However, Bubnova and Malcuzyński (2001) explain that "ventriloquate" is actually the innovation of Bakhtin's translators.³ The passage in which the term appears in English (Bakhtin [1975]1981:299) actually reads, in their more literal translation from the original Russian,

the language through which the author speaks is more densified, objectified, as if it would appear to be at a certain distance from his lips.

I particularly like the phrase "at a certain distance from his lips," because one of the effects in conversational discourse of what I call ventriloquizing -- or more generally the taking on of voices -- is precisely to make the words spoken appear to be at a certain distance from the speaker's lips, in the sense of distancing the speaker from responsibility for an utterance.

The taking on of voices, then, is a resource by which speakers negotiate relative connection and power, because it allows them to introduce a persona, then borrow characteristics associated with that persona, to, for example, downplay the relative hierarchy between themselves and interlocutors or

create closeness with interlocutors or with those whose personas they reference.

Put another way, I will propose that "the taking on voices" describes a discursive strategy by which meaning results from the relationship between current and previously experienced discourse. I'll demonstrate that by taking on voices, speakers create personas then borrow characteristics associated with those personas to negotiate the ambiguous and polysemous dynamics of connection and power. I hope thus to expand our understanding of a specific linguistic strategy, constructed dialogue, as well as the more general creation of meaning by the relation between current and prior discourse, or intertextuality. Toward this end, I'll present five examples taken from naturally occurring conversation.

The first four examples come from an extended study of family discourse. With the support of a grant from the Sloan Foundation, my colleague Shari Kendall and I had both parents in four families carry or wear small digital tape recorders for at least a week and record everything they said and everything said in their presence (that is, everything they felt comfortable recording).⁴ Following taping, each parent was shadowed by a research team member, and the recordings were logged and transcribed. In each example, I will show that a speaker takes on a voice other than his or her own (or, in some cases, the voice of an alternative self) then borrows characteristics associated with the persona constructed by that voice, and, by doing so, negotiates relative closeness/distance and hierarchy/equality.

I'll start with a brief and relatively simple example in which a father and daughter are preparing dinner in the family's kitchen. The daughter is making a salad, and the father suggests that she put in more lettuce. Here's how the exchange goes:

Father: Oo! And olives, oo.
Now, your mom would say,
"Oh, you need more lettuce!"
Daughter: Yeah, I was just gonna put more lettuce into it.

The father frames his utterance, "Oh, you need more lettuce!" as representing his wife's voice. Taken literally, his words are simply quoting what his wife would say. He thus deflects the impression of telling his daughter what to do, even as it is obvious that that is what he is doing. The daughter's response

("Yeah, I was just gonna put more lettuce into it") makes clear that she interprets his utterance this way.

By taking on his wife's voice to deliver his indirect directive, the father borrows characteristics associated with her: the expertise to decide how much lettuce a salad needs and the authority, because she is the one who usually prepares dinner, to direct the culinary actions of their daughter, an apprentice cook. We can think of the process by which he borrows these characteristics as abduction--a lateral extension to himself of abstract components associated with his wife. By voicing his wife, he distances himself from the act of telling his daughter what to do and downplays the power differential that allows him to do so. At the same time, he creates closeness with his wife by bringing her persona into the room and creates closeness with his daughter not only by downplaying his authority but also by indexing their shared relationship to the same family member: his wife, her mother. In other words, by taking on his wife's voice he borrows characteristics associated with her and negotiates hierarchy and closeness in relation to his daughter.

The second example comes from a family consisting of Clara, Neil, their son Jason, who was nearly five, and two dogs--pugs named Tater and Rickie. (Names in this as in all examples are pseudonyms.) I include the dogs as family members because that is how Clara herself referred to them.

Clara frequently spoke in a high-pitched, stylized voice associated with the dogs. She took on this voice when she spoke to the dogs or as the dogs. In this example, you will see her doing both. (This is one of many examples of family members communicating to one another by speaking to, through, or as their pets, which I analyze in an article entitled "Talking the Dog" [Tannen (2004)2007].)

A frequent point of contention in this household is the requirement that Jason put his toys away when he is done with them. This is something he sometimes fails, or even refuses, to do. At this point, however, he is putting away not only his own toys but also items that the family provides for the dogs to play with. By analogy to objects that Jason plays with, Clara and Jason refer to these items as the dog's "toys"--in itself a process of meaning by abduction. Clara praises Jason for this good behavior by speaking first to Jason and then to the dog, Tater. By taking on Tater's voice, Clara borrows abstract components associated with the persona she creates for the dog, in order to teach Jason a lesson in good citizenship. Here's how it goes:

Jason: I'm gonna put some of Tater's toys in there.
 Mother: <exhales>
 Jason: Where's Tater's [toys.]
 Mother: [Put] your shoesies on.
 ((short pause))
 Good job!
 Jason: /I'm putting his /
 Mother: <high-pitched> Tater,
 he's even puttin' your toys away!
 Tater says,
 <funny voice> "Yes,
 I never put them away.
 I consider my family to be a sl- a slew of maids,
 servants.">>

The high-pitched "funny" voice frames Clara's utterances as oriented to the dog, whether she's talking to him ("Tater, he's even puttin' your toys away") or as him ("Yes, I never put them away"). Dropping the "g" in "puttin'" is characteristic of a register she often uses to frame her utterances as humorous and casual. By speaking first to the dog and then as the dog, she creates a little play in which statement and response dramatize her point. Clara takes on Tater's "voice" to characterize him as a family member who expects others to do his work. She thus borrows characteristics of the persona she has created for the dog--obliviousness to personal responsibility and the arrogance of blithely expecting others to wait on him--in order to praise Jason by contrast. At the same time, though, she implicitly cautions Jason against such morally culpable behavior--behavior of which he is guilty at other times: if he fails to put away his toys, these characteristics will accrue to him.

By voicing the dogs, Clara also negotiates relative closeness and power in her relationship to Jason. She introduces a note of humor which helps to distance herself from the implied role of Jason's taskmaster and critic--a parent who has the right to judge and control his behavior--even as she enacts it. Voicing the dogs simultaneously creates closeness, both by introducing humor and by framing the dog as a family member, contributing to a general sense of family that Clara values, especially since Jason is an only child. Incidentally, this example, like all those that follow, makes clear why "constructed dialogue" more accurately characterizes the discursive strategy that is usually referred to as "reported

speech." It is obvious that Clara is not reporting what the dogs said, since dogs can't speak.

The third example is taken from the discourse of a family composed of Janet, Steve, and their daughter Natalie, whom you will meet in the example that follows this one. Janet is pregnant with the couple's second child, known to be a boy. Here she takes on the voice (again, obviously, an invented one) of the child who has not yet been born.

In this conversation, Janet chastises Steve for not preparing properly for their second child's impending arrival. "An entry" refers to writing in a journal in which expectant parents record their observations, thoughts and emotions, as they anticipate a baby's birth. "Your books" refers to books that provide advice and guidance on parenting. Here's the exchange:

Mother: Now I have a bone to pick with you.

Father: Oh Christ, what now.

Mother: <brief laugh>

Look, you haven't written one entry.

((short pause))

When you say you have nothing to do
you could write an ENTRY.

You don't read your books,

<chuckling> you don't do your entries>

What will your SON think when he looks at that?

He'll say,

"What's up Dad?

What about my- when I: was coming into the world,"

And you'll have to say,

"Son, I couldn't be bothered."

(Lest you think ill of Janet, I will call attention to her laughter and chuckling, which mark the interchange as rather more lighthearted than comes across in transcription. This family inspired uniform admiration and affection in all of us who worked on this project, because of the playful manner in which they interacted.)

Janet, like Clara in the preceding example, animates dialogue to create a miniature scene. First she speaks in the voice of the baby who is not yet born ("He'll say, 'What's up Dad? What about my- when I: was coming into the world'"). By taking on his voice, she borrows the expected child's innocence, vulnerability, and need for his father's attention. She also borrows his projected sibling rivalry. By elongating "I" in

"'when I: was coming into the world'," she implicitly contrasts the lack of journal entries heralding his birth, with the many entries Steve recorded in the journal they kept in anticipation of their first child's birth. (I know from having recently published a book about conversations among sisters that it is common for parents to write far more in their first child's baby album than in those of later-born children, just as they typically take far more photographs and videos of their first child. To confirm this, just ask anyone who wasn't a first-born.)

Janet then takes on a voice she represents as Steve's, creating a persona for him that she characterizes negatively. When she says, "'Son, I couldn't be bothered'," she posits indifference as the reason for Steve's negligence, rather than, say, overwork. (At the time Steve was supporting the family by holding down three jobs). Janet's initial complaint is direct: "I have a bone to pick with you," "you haven't written one entry." However, her accusation of negligence is indirect. It works by abduction because the criticism emerges from abstract components associated with personas created by her dialogue: the baby's vulnerability and Steve's indifference to the child they expect.

By taking on these voices, Janet distances herself from the position of power she is expressing: she frames herself not as telling her husband what to do, but as reminding him of his connection to the fetus inside her. The taking on of voices also allows her to use the terms of direct address "Dad" and "Son," which emphasize Steve's connection to the expected baby.

The fourth example comes from the same family. Here the ventriloquizing speaker is Janet and Steve's daughter Natalie, an unusually verbal child who is just under three. Janet and Natalie frequently engaged in role play, especially role reversal in which Natalie assumed the role of Mommy and assigned her mother the role of Natalie. The scenes Natalie thus replayed were often ones in which she had misbehaved and her mother had chastised her. Cynthia Gordon (2002, 2009) has shown a number of functions of these role-plays: they gave Natalie the opportunity to reconsider her behavior; allowed her mother to satirize Natalie's behavior in a way that dramatized its absurdity; and provided mother and child an enjoyable shared activity. It also gave Natalie a way to put off an activity she wished to avoid, like taking a nap.

The exchange in this example is fairly typical in that it replayed an actual interaction and was initiated by Natalie assigning roles. However, it is different in that Natalie took

the role of Daddy and assigned the role of Natalie to her doll. This left Janet in her real-life role of Mommy (which may explain her initial temporary puzzlement). Janet nonetheless participated in the role-play by taking on a "play voice" and addressing the doll as Natalie.

When this exchange occurs, Janet and Steve are giving Natalie a bath, which she likes, and have washed her hair, which she doesn't like. She particularly dislikes getting water on her face when it is poured over her head to rinse her hair. The exchange you will see in this example is Natalie's replay of the interaction that has just taken place, attributing to her doll the words she herself spoke:

Natalie: You're Mommy,
Mother: I'm Mommy?
Natalie: I'm Daddy and you're Mommy.
Mother: Yeah.
Natalie: And she::'s Natalie. ((referring to her doll))
Mother: <play voice> Natalie,
do you wanna hold a wash cloth
over your face when we rinse?>
Natalie: She says **"No.!"**
Mother: <play voice> But Natalie
the water will get in your face!
Daddy what should we do?>
Natalie: Why she doesn't want the wash cloth?
Mother: <play voice> I don't know Daddy.
Maybe you can ask her.>
Natalie: (She's-) Natalie,
do you want the wash cloth?
Mother: <play voice> What did she say?>
Natalie: She said **"No!"**
Mother: <play voice> Well how are we gonna rinse, Daddy??>
Natalie: I asked her and she said **"No!"**
Mother: <play voice> Oh boy!
Well I guess you just have to get water in your face
Natalie!
Here comes the buckets.
Help Daddy count the buckets.
One, [twooo, three,>]
Natalie: [twooo, three].
Do you want the wash cloth?
I asked her and she said, **"Yes!"**

This example is amusing because the speaker who so skillfully ventriloquizes is a three year old. It is also interesting--and different from the preceding examples--because the family member Natalie ventriloquizes is herself: she animates her own voice but frames it as the doll's, recasting herself not as the author of her own sentiments but as a conduit conveying the doll's sentiments. By abduction, Natalie makes a lateral extension of the components of her own persona to a doll, giving her the opportunity to reconsider her behavior and examine it from her own as well as her parents' points of view.

By recasting as the voice her doll words she herself had uttered, Natalie distances herself from her previous irrational and inconsistent behavior: her initial rejection and subsequent acceptance of the washcloth to keep water off her face. Insofar as this replay is an indirect apology, it allows her to create closeness with her parents, who were frustrated by her recalcitrance. It also creates closeness with them by prolonging an activity they are all sharing: playtime in the bath. The very fact that Natalie and her parents collaborate in role-playing and the taking on of voices reinforces and foregrounds their family connection while backgrounding and defusing the conflict they had experienced when Natalie resisted using the washcloth to keep water off her face.

This last example differed from previous ones in that the persona Natalie created was a version of herself (as was, incidentally, her mother's "play voice" persona). The same is true of the next and final example. It comes from a different source, my most recent research on discourse among sisters (Tannen 2009). In this brief excerpt the older two of three sisters, both college students, are talking about their youngest sister, who is still in high school.⁵

Oldest: And she called me a couple weeks ago
and she was like, "You have to get me out of
here. Mom and Dad are ganging up on me."
So she came to visit.
Middle: I can't do that.
Oldest: Yes, she can come visit you.
Middle: I can't come visit you whenever I want.
Oldest: **I know iss sad.**

My interest here is not the oldest taking on the voice of the youngest in her first turn but rather the last line, in which she said, "I know iss sad." By saying "iss" for "it's," she switched to a speech style that the sisters sometimes use among

themselves which they call "sisterspeak." When the middle sister said, "I can't do that," the oldest thought that they were aligned as two older sisters vis a vis the youngest, so she interpreted "I can't do that" as expressing regret that her middle sister could not invite their baby sister to visit her at college. This interpretation makes sense, since the older one's college is much closer to the family home than is the middle one's. Instead, the middle sister was aligning herself (and competing) with the youngest, expressing regret that she can't just pick up and visit her older sister at college, like the youngest can. So taking on the sisterspeak voice was a way to repair the distance created both by that misunderstanding and by the impossibility of a spontaneous visit, because it reminds her middle sister of the closeness signalled by their private language.

To sum up, then: in all these examples, speakers communicate meaning by taking on voices that create personas then borrow characteristics associated with them. These personas are recognizable by reference to previously experienced interaction, or prior text. Thus in Example 1 a husband can borrow his wife's authority because both he and his daughter know her to be a salad-maker who uses more lettuce; in Example 2 a mother can borrow a dog's arrogance because she and her son have shared the experience of living with their dogs; in Example 3 a mother can borrow sibling rivalry from the persona of their expected baby because she and her husband have shared the experience of preparing for their first child's birth. In Example 4 when Natalie speaks as her doll, the persona she represents in the doll's voice is her own, allowing her to distance herself from, and reconsider, characteristics associated with her own behavior, such as the irrationality of refusing to take action that would prevent an experience she dislikes. In the last example a woman takes on an alternative voice of her own to emphasize the affection and intimacy associated with a sister who shares a private language.

These speakers do not explicitly adopt or reference these characteristics; they indirectly index them by taking on voices and thereby creating personas. Furthermore, by taking on voices, creating personas, and borrowing characteristics associated with those personas, they negotiate relative connection and hierarchy. Thus the father in the first example and the mothers in the second and third downplay their exercise of power in telling a daughter, a son, and a husband, respectively, what to do. They simultaneously create closeness and reinforce a sense of family by bringing a wife, a dog, and a

baby not yet born into the interaction as family members. In the bathtub example, by recreating a version of her own persona, a child reevaluates behavior that resisted her parents' authority as she reinforces closeness through shared play. And in the last example an oldest sister uses sisterspeak not only to bring her middle sister closer but also to negotiate the relative hierarchy that is built into sibling relationships by virtue of birth order--a hierarchy that placed the middle one in the ambiguous and polysemous position of being both an older and a younger sister.

In conclusion, with dialogicality, abduction, and prior text as a starting point, I have emphasized intertextuality: how the meaning of current discourse results from its relationship to prior discourse. Second, I have suggested the phrase "the taking on of voices" to describe a discursive strategy that exemplifies such intertextuality. And third, I have shown that the taking on of voices, by allowing speakers to create personas and then borrow characteristics associated with those personas, provides a resource for the negotiation of connection and power in conversational interaction.

Notes

1. The examples I present here, my analysis of them, and my theoretical framework, are based on (but are not identical to) those in my article, "Abduction and Identity in Family Interaction: Ventriloquizing as Indirectness," Journal of Pragmatics 42:2(February 2010). The notions of "the taking on of voices" and the creation of personas are introduced here for the first time. I am grateful to the brave and generous families who participated in the project that yielded four of the five examples presented; to the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and our project officer, Kathleen Christensen, for support of that project; to my co-PI, Shari Kendall, without whom I would never have undertaken it; and to those who shadowed the families, transcribed their discourse, and brought examples of constructed dialogue to my attention: Cynthia Gordon, Alexandra Johnston, Shari Kendall, and Alla Tovaes.

2. There are many other scholars whose approaches bear affinities to these. For example, in an essay entitled "Indexing Gender," Elinor Ochs (1992) demonstrates that speakers assume stances that are associated in a given cultural context with being male or female. Erving Goffman (1977) made essentially the same argument: that ways of speaking perceived as masculine or feminine are not sex linked but "sex class linked," where "class" refers not to social class but to "the class of women" and "the class of men." The tendency to regard sex class linked behavior as associated with each individual who is a member of that class is, in Gregory Bateson's (1972) terms, an error of logical types. I have used Goffman's insight as the basis of my own approach to gender and language in an essay entitled "The Sex-Class Linked Framing of Talk at Work" (Tannen 1996).

3. I would like to acknowledge the path by which I traced this paper, in order to thank those who played a part. Cynthia Gordon posted an internet query, to which Jill Brody replied in a message that directed our attention to the Bubnova and Malcuzyński paper, and to Pierrette Malcuzyński herself.

4. See Tannen, Kendall and Gordon (2007) for a detailed description of the project and of the families who participated.

5. I am grateful to my student Courtney Ivins for providing this example.

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